

"When the situation of the Bank of England was under the consideration of the two Houses of Parliament, in the year 1797, it was my opinion and that of many others, that *the extent to which Paper currency had then been carried, was the first and principal, though not the sole, cause of the many difficulties, to which that corporate body was then, and had of late years from time to time, been exposed, in supplying the Cash occasionally necessary for the commerce of the Kingdom; for the Bank of England being at the head of all circulation, and the great repository of unemployed cash, it necessarily happens, that whenever a sudden increased supply of Coin becomes indispensable, in consequence of private failures or general discredit, by which Notes of the before-mentioned description are driven out of circulation, the Bank of England can alone furnish the Coins which are required to make up this deficiency, and this corporate body is thereby rendered responsible, not only for the value of its own notes, which it may have issued, but, in a certain degree, for such as may be issued by every private Banker in the Kingdom, let the substance, credit, or discretion of such a Banker be what it may.*"—LATE EARL OF LIVERPOOL. LETTER TO THE KING. Published in 1805.

"The quantity of Cash in the Bank can never, on the evidence of these circumstances, be so much as two millions; most probably not more than one million; and on this slender twig hangs the whole funding system of four hundred millions, besides many millions in Bank Notes. The sum in the Bank, if Mr. Chalmers be correct, is not sufficient to pay one-fourth of only one year's interest of the national debt, were the creditors to demand payment in Cash, or to demand Cash for the Bank Notes in which the interest is paid. A circumstance always liable to happen."—PAINE. DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ENGLISH SYSTEM OF FINANCE. Published in 1796.

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## PAPER AGAINST GOLD:

BEING AN EXAMINATION

OF THE

*Report of the Bullion Committee:*

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS

TO THE

TRADESMEN AND FARMERS

IN AND NEAR SALISBURY.

## LETTER XV.

*A more minute view of the Affairs of the Bank necessary—State of the case between the Bank and the People—The property of the Bank—The statement of Debts and Credits in the Report of the Secret Committee—The Bank renders its own Account—The more detailed statement published by Mr. Allerdyce—The property of the Bank is in Paper and not in Specie—Amount of the Bank Notes compared with the Cash—The great question was, what Cash and Bullion there was in the Bank—Mr. Paine's opinion founded upon the Estimate of Mr. Eden and Mr. Chalmers—Error in supposing that the Minister took Specie out of the Bank to send it abroad—Mr. Pitt's answer to Mr. Hobhouse and Mr. Hussey—Mr. Pitt's argument verifying the opinion of Mr. Paine—The whole become a system of Paper.*

Gentlemen,

In the foregoing Letter (at page 808), we have seen the Reports of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, relative, FIRST, to the state of the Bank's Affairs; and, SECOND, relative to the continuance of refusal of cash-payments at the Bank. We shall next take a view of the Acts, passed by the Parliament, upon this memorable occasion; not, however, 'till we have looked a little more minutely into the state of the Bank's affairs.

It was before observed, that the Committee; that even a Secret Committee, and that Committee, appointed, too, in the manner that we have seen (at page 807); that even a Committee like this were not permitted (to use the phrase of Pitt) to "push their inquiries into circumstances, the disclosure of which would be attended with injury to public credit." Accordingly, not a word do this Committee say about the quantity of Gold and Silver in the Bank, though the great, and indeed, the only cause of the Stoppage, and of the whole of these proceedings, was, the alarm felt by the Directors at the daily decrease in their Gold and Silver. The question, and the only question of any importance to the people, that is to say, to the holders of the Bank Notes, was: "Is there a quantity of real money in the Bank sufficient to pay us the



"amount of our notes, when we may choose to present them for payment." This was the question, to which the people wanted an answer; but with nothing relating to this question, were the Committee to meddle. This question was, with assurance unparalleled, said to belong wholly to the "*private economy* of the Bank, with which *the public had nothing at all to do.*"

Surely nothing ever was heard so impudent as this. The holders of the bank notes, the creditors of the Bank Company, the creditors of this Company of Merchants, carry their notes and demand payment; the Company of Merchants apply to the Minister, and he obtains from the Privy Council an Order to authorize the Company to refuse to pay the just and lawful demands of their creditors, and then the Minister, when he comes to the Parliament for an Act to sanction and to continue this refusal, tells the House of Commons, that even a Secret Committee of them, though chosen as we have seen, are not to push their inquiries into circumstances, the disclosure of which might injure the credit of the Bank; and yet he has the face to say, at the same time, that the report of this Committee cannot fail to satisfy the country of the ability of the Bank to pay all its outstanding demands.

Gentlemen, we will now look a little more minutely into that report. It states, that the Government owes the Bank Company 11,686,800*l.* which bears an interest of three per cent.; that is to say, that the Bank Company, like our neighbour GRIZZLE GREENHORN, is a Stock-holder, and has its name written in the GREAT BOOK; which Great Book, you will bear in mind, is kept at the Bank itself, and the interest upon the said stock is paid by the Bank Company to the Bank Company and in bank notes made at the order of the Bank Company! This was all very fine, to be sure; but, it certainly did not go one inch towards convincing the holder of a bank note, that the Bank was able to pay him in Gold or Silver. The Committee next state the means and the Debts of the Bank as follows:

Total amount of the Funds  
of the Bank (exclusive of  
debt due to it from the Go-  
vernment of 11,686,800*l.*)  
on the 25th of February,  
1797.....£17,597,28

Total Amount of outstand-  
ing demands upon the  
Bank on the 25th of Fe-  
bruary, 1797..... 13,770,390

Surplus in favour of the Bank 3,826,890

This was all very fine again; but what was it to the public? What was it to the holders of the bank notes, who wanted Gold for them? Besides, whence came the evidence of the truth of this? The proofs of a trader's solvency is not, I believe, generally left to himself. The Bank Company had stopped payment, and, when an inquiry was taking place into the state of its affairs, and especially with regard to its ability to pay, how comes it that the inquirers were content with its own statement and its own story? This is not the way that inquiries are made into the affairs of other traders, when they stop payment. Mr. GREY, as we have seen before (See Debate of 9th March 1797), said that, though one of the Secret Committee, the evidence had not satisfied him; and, indeed, what was this report more or less than the Bank's representation of the state of its own affairs?

But, supposing the statement to be correct, still what was there to satisfy the people of the country; what to satisfy the holders, of the notes, that the Bank was able to pay those notes, that is to say, to give gold and silver for them. For, as to payment in any other way, it is nonsense to talk of it. What was there, in this Report, then, to cause it to be believed, that the Bank was able to pay its notes? Here is very big talk; high-sounding words and more high-sounding figures; but, if we put them to the scrutiny we find nothing at all in them: we find not the smallest circumstance to induce any holder of a bank note to suppose, that the Bank is, or ever will be, able to pay that note off, agreeably to the promise, expressed upon the face of it.

The statement, however, from which it appears, the Secret Committee made up their report, was more in detail. This statement was afterwards given to the public by Mr. ALLERDYCE, a member of the then Parliament, and a person who constantly voted with the Minister. The statement, thus given, was as follows.

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STATE OF THE FINANCES OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND, FEB. 25, 1797.

*Particulars of Debt Account.*

Drawing account .....	£. 2,389,600
Exchequer bills .....	1,676,000
Unpaid dividend .....	983,730
Do. in Bank stock .....	45,150
Do. in India annuities .....	10,210
Sundries unclaimed .....	1,330
Due from Cash on the loan of 1797 .....	17,060
Unpaid Irish dividend .....	1,460
Do. on Imperial loan .....	5,600
	<hr/>
Bank notes in circulation .....	5,130,140
	<hr/>
	13,770,390
Balance .....	3,820,890
	<hr/>
	17,597,280

*Particulars of Credit Account.*

Bills and notes discounted } .....	4,176,080
Cash and Bullion .....	8,228,000
Exchequer Bills .....	65,000
Lands and Tenements .....	700,000
Money lent to India Company .....	1,510
Stamps .....	15,890
Navy and Victualling Bills ...	54,150
American debentures .....	5,320
Petty Cash in House .....	24,150
Sundry articles .....	795,800
5 per Cent. annuities .....	1,000,000
5 per Cents 1797 .....	
Treasury bills paid for the Government .....	1,512,270
Loan to Government .....	376,000
Bills discounted unpaid .....	88,120
Treasury and Exchequer fees	740
Interest due on different Loans advanced to government ...	554,250
	<hr/>
	17,597,280

Now, what is all this? Why, it is, with the exception of *three of the items*, a mere account of *paper* between the *Government* and the *Bank*, and in which the people, who held the bank notes, could have no interest whatever. The Bank held Exchequer Bills, and Navy and Victualling Bills, and had lent money (that is to say bank notes) to the East India Company and had five per cent. stock and Treasury Bills and had interest due upon loans; all which might be very well for the Bank, but what was it to a man, who held a bank note and who could not get payment for it when he presented it to the Bank? These fine articles of credit were very good for the Bank Company; but, what good were they to 'SQUIRE GULL, who, being alarmed at the prospect of a Jacobin invasion, wished, in spite of his loyalty, to turn his bank notes into guineas? What use were they to our neighbour GRIZZLE GREENHORN, who now wished, of course, to put by a few guineas, and who, of course, wished to receive her dividends in gold, to prevent her from doing which by law this very report was a preliminary step? What consolation was Grizzle to draw from this account of debts due from the Government to the Bank, especially when it was clear, that if the Government ever paid the Bank, it must pay it in bank notes; seeing that in bank notes the taxes were now paid?

The *three items* to which the people would look, were those expressing on one side, the *amount of the bank notes in circulation*; and, on the other, the amount of the *cash, or coin, and bullion in the Bank Company's House*, commonly called the Bank. According to the above statement these were on the 25th of February 1797, as follows:

Amount of Bank notes in circulation .....	£. 8,640,250
Bills and Notes discounted, Cash and Bullion .....	4,176,080
Petty cash in the House .....	5,320
	<hr/>
	4,181,400
	<hr/>
Difference .....	4,458,850

But, who is to say how much the Bills and Notes discounted amounted to? Who is to answer, that they did not make one half; who is to say, that they did not make *nine tenths* of the sum of 4,176,080 pounds? Why was the amount of the cash and bullion huddled up in one sum along with the amount of Bills and Notes discounted! Why were things so different in their nature confounded together? If GRIZZLE GREENHORN wanted her bank notes payed at the Bank, she



would not take *discounted bills* in payment. What the nation wanted to see, was, how much the Bank had of *that sort of thing, in which bank notes could be payed*; how much it had of that sort of thing, the value of which *no invasion or revolution would destroy*; how much it had of that sort of thing, in which it had *promised to pay upon demand the bearers of its notes*; how much, in short, it had of MONEY, and not of *bills and notes discounted*, with which the people had nothing at all to do, there being no man of common sense, who could care a straw about how much of its paper the Bank gave to others for their paper, so that he got guineas for his bank notes; and, if he could not get this, what consolation was it to him to know, that the Bank had lent *but* little of its paper to the merchants?

As to the exact quantity of *cash and bullion* in the Bank, when the Stoppage took place, MR. ALLERDYCE gives a table, shewing the amount at stated periods, for several years, according to which Table, the total amount of the cash and bullion in the Bank, at the time of the Stoppage, was 1,272,000*l.* Aye, ONE MILLION, TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY TWO THOUSAND POUNDS. He comes at this sum thus. The Bank of England have *Numbers*, to denote their quantity of *cash and bullion*. When they submitted their accounts to Parliament, in 1797, it was thought necessary to keep the amount of the *cash and bullion* a secret from Parliament and the public. They, therefore, only gave the *Numbers* for distinct periods in several years, in order to shew the proportionate increase or diminution of the *cash and bullion*. From these *Numbers*, however, a discovery was, it is said, made, and the sum, above-named, ascertained to be the amount of the *cash and bullion* in the Bank at the time of the Stoppage. But, upon this, I wish to place no *reliance*; nor do I care, whether the statement above given, of *cash and bullion* and discounted bills be correct, or not. These are things of inferior consequence compared with the great and well known facts; namely, that no proof was produced, or attempted to be produced, that the Bank Company had gold or silver, or both together, sufficient to pay its promissory notes; and that, no account was rendered to the Parliament of the amount of the *cash and bullion* in the Bank.

MR. PAINE had, only the year before, said, in the words of my motto, that the quantity of cash in the Bank could never, on the evidence of circumstances, be so much as *two millions*, and most probably *not more than one million*; that, on this slender twig, always liable to be broken, hung the whole funding system of four hundred millions, besides many millions in bank notes; that the sum in the bank was not sufficient to pay one fourth of only one year's interest of the national Debt, were the creditors to demand payment in cash, or to demand cash for the bank notes in which the interest is paid: a circumstance always liable to happen. MR. PAINE founded this opinion upon a statement of MR. EDEN (now Lord AUCKLAND) and MR. CHALMERS, clerk to the Board of Trade, who had given an account, or, rather an estimate, of the gold coin circulating in the kingdom; and, it is truly surprising to observe how near MR. PAINE was to the exact truth as to this point, though at the time when his pamphlet was published, its calculations and predictions were treated with scorn, and the work itself was ascribed to a malicious desire to cause the ruin of England; just as if it were in the power of PAINE, or of any one else, to injure the credit of a nation; or, as if any thing but the want, the real want of the gold and bullion could shake the faith of the public in such an establishment as that of the Bank. PAINE might have written 'till this time without persuading any one that a guinea was a thing not to be relied upon. He never would have written people out of their belief in the goodness of guineas. And, if the Bank had stood a run for only *one week*, he might have written his pen to the stump, but would not have shaken the people's confidence. Credit that has a *solid foundation* need fear no assaults.

At the time, when this subject was under discussion in the House of Commons, the Minister was charged, by the Opposition, with having *taken the Money from the Bank* and sent it abroad in *subsidies*. This was certainly a very great error, or, it was made use of for the purpose of *annoying the Minister* at the expence of truth. I am, however, disposed to attribute it to error; for, it was urged in such a manner, and by such persons, as to obviate all suspicion of its being a mere party weapon. MR. HOBHOUSE (Debate 28th



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February, 1797) said, that he suspected that the money had been buried in Germany, and not by the people of England, in dread of invasion. And Mr. HUSSEY said, that the Minister "had laid his rapacious hands upon the sums destined for the payment of the public creditor. He knew that the public creditors had been refused their just demands. He had witnessed the truth of this woeful circumstance himself. He had been told by a person who had applied for payment, that, in payment of a sum of *twenty three pounds*, *three pounds* in cash had been offered, and the rest only in notes. Such a melancholy day as this for England he had hoped never to live to see. Let the Chancellor of the Exchequer pay the *ten millions* Government owed the Bank, and then it would be able to fulfil all its engagements. It was not that the Bank was unable to satisfy its creditors, but it was the continued demand of money to feed the expences of this ruinous and disastrous war, which rendered it unjust to those who depended upon its credit."

Mr. PITT, who seemed to have avoided this point with all his care, and who, as I once heard Mr. WINDHAM describe him, was so dextrous in the selection and use of words as to be able "to speak a king's speech off-hand," could not remain longer silent under this attack. He had been told nearly the same by Mr. SHERIDAN; but he seemed to be willing to take the chance of that being ascribed to party motives. When, however, he heard the same, seriously urged by Mr. HUSSEY, and saw that the notion was making its way amongst the public, and, of course, that the whole of the calamity would be ascribed to him and his Anti-Jacobin war, he could no longer refrain from declaring what was the nature of the property of the Bank, and to avow, that the whole of its transactions with government, or nearly so, were transactions of *paper*, a fact of which the country had, till that moment been in complete ignorance.

He said that Mr. HUSSEY was wholly in error to suppose, that the Bank made advances to the Government in *specie*; he said, that the advances were made in *notes*, and paid in the same manner; that, if the Government were to raise money and pay the Bank, the Bank would not thereby be supplied with an additional guinea in cash; that the taxes were not paid in

*specie*; that loans were advanced without any expectation of *re-payment in specie*; that the Bank never had it in contemplation that every quarterly dividend was to be paid *in cash*; that the receipt of the revenue was *in paper*, and that the whole of Mr. HUSSEY's observations were intirely founded in mistake.

Mr. SHERIDAN, in answer to this, said that the deficiency, or inability at the Bank arose not merely from the positive want of cash, but from the disproportion between the quantity of cash and the quantity of paper; and, of course, that, if their lent paper was returned to them, they would find themselves at liberty to *issue more of their specie*. This would have been true in a state of things where the difference between the quantity of specie and the quantity of paper was less; but, in the present case, it was too great for confidence to be restored, and, of course, for the Bank to return to its payments in cash. Mr. PITT's answer was complete. It was the plain truth, which he was obliged to bring out, in order to divide the blame with the Bank. He was told to *borrow* and to pay the Bank what he owed them. What good will that do, said he, when my loan will consist of Bank notes, and I must pay the Bank in those notes? He was told to raise the sum in *taxes* and so pay the Bank. What good will that do, said he, when my taxes will consist of Bank notes, and I must pay the Bank in those notes. The answer was complete towards his adversaries in debate, and not less complete as a demolisher of his own reputation as a Minister of Finance. He now said precisely what Mr. PAINE had said the year before; he now confirmed, with his own lips, what PAINE had been so abused for saying.\*

\* I speak here of those writings merely of Mr. PAINE, which relate to *Finance*, without wishing to convey any commendation of some of his other writings, the subjects of which are, in no-wise, connected with this subject. In the principles of finance he was deeply skilled; and, to his very great and rare talents as a writer, he added an uncommon degree of experience in the concerns of paper-money, the rise and fall of which he had witnessed in the American States and in France. Truth is truth, come from whom it may; and there is no greater folly than that of rejecting it, that of shutting one's



He appears clearly to have perceived his dilemma; but, to extricate him from it was beyond the power even of his dexterity. He was obliged to acknowledge, that the whole was become a *system of paper*, or, that *he had taken the gold from the Bank*, and, of the two evils he chose that, which would expose him to the least share of public odium.

This view of the State of the Bank's Affairs has led me further than I expected; but it was quite necessary as an introduction to that of the Acts of Parliament, which will be the subject of my next.

I am, in the meanwhile,

Gentlemen,

Your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Monday,  
November 5, 1810.

#### SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

KING'S ILLNESS.—The Bulletins, inserted in my last, at page 817, came down to the 2nd instant. The succeeding ones, up to this day, are as follows.—3rd November, Saturday,—“His Majesty passed a better night, but his fever is not diminished.”—4th November, Sunday,—“The King is in no respect worse to-day, though his Majesty has passed the night with very little sleep.”—5th November, Monday,—“The King has had a good night, and his Majesty has been rather better through the last 24 hours.”—6th November, Tuesday,—“His Ma-

eyes and ears against it, merely because it proceeds from persons, of whose conduct, in other respects, one may disapprove. The writings of LORD BACON are held, and justly held, in great estimation; though he was, as our elegant and virtuous poet describes him, “the meanest of mankind.” The late Lord Liverpool, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Nicholls, Mr. Hobhouse and others, and, as we shall see by-and-by, a Committee of the House of Commons, have since acknowledged the truth of the principles of Mr. Paine's work. Events have proved the truth of them, and, to point out the fact, is no more than an act of justice, due to his talents, and an act the more particularly due at my hands, I having been one of his most violent assailants. Any man may fall into error, but a fool or a knave will seldom acknowledge it.

“jesty has passed the night with very little sleep, and is not better this morning.”—In addition to the intelligence, contained in these official documents, it is stated, in most of the public prints, that the King is better, and in a gradual way of recovery. Some conversations are given, as having taken place between him and the physicians, which, if correctly given, contain ample proof of his being in a way of restoration; so that, it is probable, that, before the two Houses of Parliament again meet, the means of providing for a prorogation, may have been legally taken, in which case the session will not, I should suppose, begin at an earlier period than usual.—I am sorry to connect with a matter like this any thing in the way of disputation; but, the cause of truth and of freedom demands, at my hands, something in answer to an article in the Morning Chronicle of the 5th instant, arising out of what I said, in my last, at page 814.—The article is as follows: “Mr. Cobbett affects to have discovered an *inconsistency* in our account on Friday last, of his Majesty's illness, compared with our paragraph on the Friday preceding. We said, on the 26th instant, “His Majesty possesses perfect health, and promises the enjoyment of many years in the bosom of his family and people.”—Of this paragraph Mr. Cobbett, with a virulent perversion of the text of our account of his Majesty's present awful condition, says: “What are we to give credit to after this?—It is stated that the King has been somewhat ill for three weeks, and that he had become so ill on the 25th of October as to cause a report of his state to be made to Mr. Perceval—Aye, on that very 25th of October, when (it being the anniversary of his accession to the Throne) we were told, by this same print, that he was in perfect health, and promised the enjoyment of many years! What is one after this to believe?”—Such is Mr. Cobbett's animadversion! It is not easy to account for the motive which induces this writer to endeavour incessantly to vilify and calumniate the Press, as if he wished to justify the attempts that have been made by men in power to subject it to uncontrolled privilege, as the readiest means of shackling it without the forms of trial. It is for Mr. Cobbett himself to account for this practice to the friends of a free press—



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“but it behoves us to repel the charge of attempting to impose on the People of England by any concealment of a fact so important to them as that of the King’s indisposition. — Our Readers will do us the justice to recollect that we stated distinctly, that for the fortnight preceding the Anniversary of his Accession to the Throne, his Majesty had been alternately depressed by grief or elevated by expectation, according to the successive reports he received from the Physicians attending on the Princess Amelia, but there was not the slightest appearance of indisposition in his Majesty. It was not till the very day of the Anniversary that the symptoms of a change in his deportment were remarked by the quick and intelligent eye of the Gentleman whose duty it was to be near his person—and this was communicated with great secrecy to the Prime Minister. It was not known even in the Castle, for on Friday the 26th his Majesty rode out in Windsor Great Park, and it was not until that occasion (as we have already said) that the afflicting condition of the Royal mind became manifest to all his attendants. Unless, therefore, we are to call the sorrows of an affectionate Parent on seeing the sufferings of a beloved daughter, by the name of indisposition, we cannot truly be accused of having imposed upon our Readers. On Monday, for the first time, we received a whisper of his being unwell, but his illness was attributed to a slight cold. It was not till Tuesday that we had an authentic communication of the nature of his malady, and we instantly gave the Bulletins which had been issued, but from that DELICACY which WE shall ever feel on such topics (however it may heat the gentle blood of Mr. Cobbett), we abstained from entering into the detail of the origin and progress of the afflicting malady, until by the Royal inability to perform one of the most important functions of the Prerogative, it became a question of the most serious national interest, and was promulgated by the Government itself. — We have thought it our duty to say thus much in vindication of our integrity in the discharge of our duty to the Public; not that we think the *captious misrepresentations* of Mr. Cobbett, or of Mr. White, are likely to deprive us of the confidence which our Readers from long experience have of OUR SINCERITY in

“their service.” — Let us take this in its own order; and, FIRST, I did not *affect* to have discovered any thing. I actually did point out by name and date; and it was not an *inconsistency* that I pointed out, but a *falsehood*; a clearly defined falsehood; a falsehood not to be denied, or disguised; and what Mr. PERRY can hope to effect by this attempt at justification, I am wholly at a loss to conceive. He told us first, that the King was in *perfect health* on the 25th (being the anniversary of the accession to the throne); and, he afterwards told us, that, *on that very day*, the King’s illness, which had been for some time coming on, became *so manifest*, that it was reported to the Minister. How did I “*virulently pervert*” the text of those statements? I inserted the statements in the words of the text itself; and, I only said, in the way of commentary, “what is one, after this, to believe?” How can this be called *perversion* of the text? The falsehood was clear; there was a flat contradiction in terms; one of the assertions was the opposite of the other; there was a self conviction of falsehood. The falsehood might arise from *misinformation*, and I neither said nor insinuated that it was *wilful* on the part of Mr. PERRY; but, still it was a falsehood, and one of such importance as to deserve pointing out. And, what is now said to do it away? Nothing at all. There is nothing now said that was not said before, and that I did not insert. The fact remains just what it was, and the only difference in the case is, that Mr. PERRY has now made it appear, that the falsehood *did not arise from misinformation*, because, if it had, he would, doubtless, have said so. He said, that the King was in *perfect health*, on the 25th of October. He has since said, that the King was ill, that he was *not in perfect health*, on that day; and, unless he can account for his having made the first assertion, what is the use of the protestations about his integrity; what is the use of his talk of *repelling the charge*, of having endeavoured to impose upon the people? The way to repel the charge of having asserted a falsehood, is to shew that what you asserted was *true*; and, if you cannot do this, your best way is to plead guilty, or, to hold your tongue. — My motive for pointing out this falsehood, was, to prevent, as far as I could, the like in future. This falsehood was criminal, not because it was *maliciously meant*; not because it had a tendency to produce injury to any particular person; but be-



cause it tended, and must tend, to diminish the confidence of men in the assertions of one another, which is always a great moral evil; and, in the important case now before us, what man is there, who will be so ready to confide in the statements of the Morning Chronicle, or of any other of the public prints? This instance of falshood will make men suspect every thing that shall, in future, be asserted upon the same subject. It is for this reason that all serious falshoods are criminal; and, to prevent them, I, for my part, know of no other way than that of exposing and censuring them.—The SECOND point in Mr. PERRY's article relates to certain alledged "*calumnies*," which, he would insinuate that I am in the habit of uttering against *the press*; and he kindly leaves me to account for this my practice to the friends of a *free press*.—What does Mr. PERRY mean by "*calumnies*?" Calumny includes *falshood*; and he has made no attempt to shew, that I have uttered any *falshoods* even against the venal writers of the day, who, indeed, are quite enough exposed to the shafts of truth.

—What have I complained of in the conduct of the press? Have I not complained of its promulgating *falshoods*? Yes, and I have always *proved* the justice of my complaint. I have complained of its being made use of, by many persons, as a channel of deception; as the means of duping and cheating the people; as the means of vilifying the real friends of the country; as the means of upholding abuses: and, have I not, at every step, shown my complaint to be *well-founded*?

—To the friends of a *free press* I have no apology to make for this my practice; but, on the contrary, am convinced, that of this part of my labours, I have their warmest approbation; because, the friends of a *free press* want, like myself, no liberty to publish *falshoods*; they and I want the liberty of publishing any thing that we can *prove to be true*; and, whoever has read the Register, must know, that this is what I have constantly contended for. But, I never have contended for the liberty of publishing *falshoods*; I have never held that forth as necessary to the freedom and happiness of the people; I have always stood upon this adamant principle of morality, "*truth is great, and she shall prevail*;" against which principle whatever is hostile has a direct tendency to vitiate the morals and to undermine and destroy the liberties of a nation.

—There is a THIRD passage in Mr. PERRY's article, which I must beg to be excused for noticing. It is this: "It was not till Tuesday that we had an authentic communication of the nature of his malady, and we instantly gave the Bulletin which had been issued; but, from that DELICACY which WE shall ever feel on such topics, however it may heat the gentle blood of Mr. Cobbett, WE abstained from entering into the detail of the origin and progress of the afflicting malady."—Now, pray, Mr. PERRY, what do you mean? Do you mean, that my blood has been heated by your *delicacy*, or by the *topics*, or by your *abstinence* from entering into a detail of the king's illness? Really, Sir, if confusion of ideas be a sign of heated blood, there can, I flatter myself, be but little doubt as to which of us has his blood in the most feverish state.—Your *delicacy* might, I must confess, be likely enough to warm the blood of a less constant observer than myself; nor should I be surprised if a similar effect were, in some persons, produced by the solemn protestation of SINCERITY, made at the close of your article; but, in me, I give you my word, that neither the one nor the other has caused the slightest emotion, and that my pulse has been no more affected thereby than it was by your lengthened eulogium on the *loyalty*, which shone forth with such resplendence from the lamps of the proprietor of "that truly national establishment, the Yellow-Fever warehouse."—Do you mean, that my blood was heated by the *topics*? If so, you will do your readers a favour to give them something like an explanation of the sense of your words; and, if you mean, that this heat of mine arose from your not entering into a detail of the king's illness, the public, or, at least, the readers of the Register, who must have observed with what care I have avoided every thing bordering upon such detail, will, I am afraid, conclude, that my "*animadversion*," as you are pleased to call it, upon your late publications, has wholly failed in producing the effect for which it was intended. But, even this failure shall not prevent me from offering you, towards whom I feel no ill-will, this one observation: that *delicacy* and *sincerity* are virtues, which stand in no need of words to indicate the seat of their existence.

JEFFERY.—It was not my intention to say any more about this man at present;





but, the following paragraph, inserted in all the Daily papers, that I have seen, of the 31st of October, calls for a remark or two; and, besides, it is of importance to put it upon record.—“This young man, whose case has excited such extraordinary interest, arrived safely on Thursday last at Polperro, where his mother and father-in-law reside. The following are stated to have been the circumstances attending his reception:—The professional gentleman who was employed on the occasion by the LAKE family, (Captain LAKE himself has been abroad some time), after having adjusted every thing entirely to the satisfaction of Jeffery, properly conceived that one so inexperienced should not be trusted by himself with a large sum of money, and anxious that he should be safely restored to his family, sent his clerk to accompany him to the spot.—On the road from Plymouth to Polperro they met the father-in-law of Jeffery, who recognised him immediately, and went forward to apprise his mother of his arrival. By the time that they reached the village all the inhabitants were prepared to receive him, and it is hardly possible to express the cordial greeting and exulting transport that attended his arrival. After a tumult of joy had a little subsided, they began to look on the clerk with apparent suspicion, and some degree of hostility; but Jeffery immediately assured them that he was one of his friends, and had taken the trouble of so long a journey for the purpose of protecting him. Their sentiments were changed at once, and the clerk was received with respect and kindness.—The meeting between Jeffery and his mother was particularly interesting. At first she gazed on him with a kind of bewildered anxiety, as if doubtful whether she could trust what she saw; in a few moments she recovered herself, and they rushed into each other's arms—‘Oh! my son,’ and ‘Oh! my mother,’ interrupted by sobs on both sides, were all that they could utter for some time. At length the agitation of their feelings subsided, and a scene of calm endearment ensued. Nothing but the arrival of Jeffery engrossed the attention of the villagers, and the whole place was a scene of generous tumult till a late hour in the night. Jeffery repeatedly declared that he entirely forgave Captain Lake himself, and could take him by the hand with sincere good-will if he were

“on the spot. Jeffery arrived at the village at six o'clock in the evening. The Clerk stayed with him till one in the morning, and after a short repose set off for London on Friday.”—In a former article, upon this subject, at page 721, I observed upon the rare kindness, shown towards Jeffery by even the Attorney of Lake. Not only by his family, but even by his Attorney, who seemed to be afraid, lest he should dash his foot against a stone; and so he not only took care of him while in London, but actually accompanied him down to Polperro, a distance of about three hundred miles. But, there is one thing, which appears to have escaped this “Professional Gentleman.” We are here told, that this gentleman, “who was, upon this occasion, employed by the Lake family, after having adjusted every thing entirely to the satisfaction of Jeffery, properly conceived, that one so inexperienced, should not be trusted by himself with a large sum of money, and anxious, that he should be safely restored to his family, sent his clerk to accompany him to the spot.”—Kind again. Very kind. But, as this professional gentleman was employed by one of the parties, is it not rather odd, that, where a pecuniary agreement was to take place, there was not some professional man on the other side, especially in a case where the party is declared to have been so inexperienced? What answer will any professional man give to this question?—Jeffery, if this account be true, was, by this professional gentleman, employed by the Lake family, thought “not fit to be trusted by himself with a large sum of money.” We are not told what the sum was; and, it is of no consequence to the argument. Be it what it might, JEFFERY, it is here said, was not fit to be trusted alone with it, on account of his inexperience. Was it, therefore, proper, that the compromise should have been made with him, without his having the assistance or advice of any professional man, or any friend? And would a court of equity say, that such a compromise was binding?—I shall leave the matter here, for the present; but more of it we must have hereafter. It is a thing impossible, that the matter can be dropped thus. It is not the affair of Jeffery alone. It is the nation, and as such it always ought to be considered.

PORTUGAL.—There is not, I believe, any intelligence from our army near Lis-



bon; but, it is hourly expected; and (*from every thing that we are told*) the total destruction of Massena and his army may be expected. In the mean while, I see, I must confess, with rather a suspicious eye, a paragraph in all the Ministerial news-papers, the object of which is to show, that, though the loss of the impending battle would be ruinous to *Napoleon*, the loss of it, on our part, would not be ruinous to us. The paragraph, which, I perceive, has been carefully and conspicuously inserted in all the ministerial news-papers, is as follows: "It has more than once been observed, by some of our cotemporaries that the *security* or *insecurity*, the *permanence* or *destruction* of the British and French Governments, depend upon the issue of the great battle between Lord Wellington and Massena. That a power which has been ill-gotten, and has been upheld by the most tyrannical measures, which, having been obtained by success in the field, is indebted for its continuance to an unbroken series of victories, that such a power, of new growth, not bottomed in the esteem and affections of the people, but on the contrary odious and oppressive to them, should be unable to stand against the tide of disaster; that its main props and pillars should be weakened by the decisive defeat of a large army, the flower of its military force, commanded by the most consummate of Buonaparté's generals, will not create surprise in any man. But that the *British Power* should be placed in the same scale and on the same footing; that a constitution which has grown to greatness through a long progression of ages; which has its root in our love and esteem, in our habits, in our recollections; which is endeared to us by the prosperity it has produced, by the rights of freedom it has established, that a Power which puts forth its resources and strength to protect not to oppress, to rescue not to enslave, that such a Power cannot survive a disaster or defeat (which yet, we trust, it is not destined to experience), is an assertion which we shall never hear without branding it as an atrocious calumny and insult."—Very well. Agreed; Agreed. An "atrocious calumny," if you like, and an insult besides. But, why talk of it? Why think about any such thing? How came any such thing into your head; for, as to the opinion that you affect to combat, that

is a complete sham, no such opinion having been given in any print in London? Why, therefore, start any such idea?—This is, in truth, a very ugly paragraph, and, were not our last accounts from Lisbon of so very flattering a nature, one would be almost tempted to fear, that there were, at Whitehall, some dark forebodings. Else why this laboured attempt introduced under a false pretence; why this hatched occasion for introducing an argument to convince us, that the loss of the battle in Portugal would not prove our ruin? Why all this? Never, surely, was so much pains before taken without some purpose in view. Why, again I ask, say any thing, which seems to contemplate the consequences of a lost battle. —But, though I think this paragraph so ugly, I cannot doubt of the success of the allied army, which, besides all other advantages, is (if the Morning Post and Courier have given us true statements) so superior in numbers to the famished, ragged, sick, and disaffected army of Massena. The Morning Post of to-day says:—"On Thursday 300 deserters from the French army in Portugal landed at Portsmouth, and were marched to Fort Cumberland. They are to join the Royal Sicilian regiment. A more deplorable body of men were never seen: they had scarcely any cloathing on, and appeared half starved. They are of all the nations on the Continent."—Here, then, we have before the Morning Post's eyes, a specimen of Massena's army. I wish, with all my heart, that I could go into Hampshire to see them! Since I cannot, I must take the fact upon trust. Here, then, in my mind's eye, at any rate, I have before me the 300 deplorable, nearly naked, half-starved creatures, of all nations, whom we (if this man tells truth) have put into our "Royal Sicilian Regiment!" He does not say, how many Frenchmen there are amongst them; nor does he show us, from this fact, how it follows, as a matter of course, that Massena's army, remaining with him, must be in the same condition; nor, further, how this fact of the deserters of all nations proves the utility of foreign troops. These men may possibly have had time to eat since they left Massena.—But, on the other hand, it may have been owing to their having been the strongest amongst his men, that enabled them to escape; and, if what we were told, some time ago, was true, his army must be too much exhausted by



want of food for many of the men to have strength sufficient to desert.—All, however, at present, is conjecture. His army may have been slain, or they may have been eaten by the crows and magpies. One or the other appears (from what we have been told) to be their inevitable destiny; and, all that I have now to add, is the expression of my wishes, that we may speedily hear the intelligence of their fate, and of the safety and health of our own army.

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND. — A news-paper, published in DUBLIN, by J. LAPHEN, No. 19, Sycamore Street, near Dame Street, dated October 4, 1810, and bearing the *sham* title of "THE PATRIOT," contains a letter, with the following head: "From Cobbett's Political Register: To the Freemen of the 'Aggregate Meeting of Dublin;' and signed: 'WILLIAM COBBETT, State Prison, Newgate, Saturday, September 29, 1810.'" — This letter, which fills more than two columns of the paper, is a FABRICATION FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE END. — No such letter ever was written by me; and no such letter ever appeared in the Political Register; and this, I am convinced, the independent Editors in Ireland (whose conduct, by the bye, puts many of our editors to shame) will not fail to state to you. — There are, however, three circumstances, connected with this attempt at imposition, which circumstances give me great pleasure: FIRST, it is a proof, that the supporters of this sham "Patriot" feel, that it would be desirable for them to injure my reputation: SECOND, that they are compelled to resort for tools to men capable of such fabrications as this, which proves to me, that all men of talents and of honour hold them in contempt: THIRD, that, in order to obtain a chance of getting you to listen to them, they must assume the name of Patriot. These are all bad signs for them, and are so many proofs to me, that you are worthy of all the admiration and all the fellow-feeling, which real Englishmen have towards you, and which have ever been entertained by your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday,  
November 6, 1810.

P. S. Upon consulting the stars, I think I have discovered, that it will not be many days before the MORNING POST, and the COURIER will begin to rat.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

FRANCE.—Decree issued from the Palace of Fontainebleau, Oct. 3, relating to persons of both sexes who are in service as domestics at Paris, or who wish to become such. (Concluded from page 832.)

..... 9. The obligation of getting themselves inscribed, and of receiving a card, is not applicable to domestics serving the same master for the last five years, except at the time when they shall leave him.—10. The obligation imposed upon masters by the present decree, shall be executed by the house stewards, where there are any.—11. The penalties contained in the present decree, shall be prescribed for six months, where the domestic who has incurred them, had got into the service of a new master.—12. Our Grand Judge, Minister of Justice, and our Minister of General Police, are charged with the execution of the present decree, which shall be inserted in the Bulletin of the Laws.

FRANCE.—Commercial Decree. — Fontainebleau, 8th October, 1810.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, &c. —Considering that a great quantity of colonial merchandize, proceeding from prizes taken by the Danes, is accumulated at Altona, and other ports of Holstein, and wishing to favour the Danish Court, we have decreed, and do decree as follows:—Art. 1. All kinds of colonial merchandize actually existing in Holstein, being the proceeds of prizes made by the Danes, may enter our line of customs by way of Hamburgh, by paying the duties of our tariff, of the 5th of August, which shall be annexed to the present decree.—Art. 2. All merchants, and holders of colonial merchandize inclined to avail themselves of the permission granted by the present decree, shall be obliged to appear in the presence of our Director of the Customs at Hamburgh, and to deliver to him their declaration in the course of October.—Art. 3. They shall have permission to enter their goods within the line of customs, upon paying the duties of the tariff.—Art. 4. The holders of colonial merchandize in Holstein, who shall not have made their declaration before the 1st of November, shall not afterwards be permitted to do so, nor to avail themselves of the privilege granted them by the present decree.—Art. 5. Our ministers of Foreign



Relations, Finance, and War, are charged, in what concerns them respectively, with the execution of the present decree.—

(Signed) NAPOLEON: by the Emperor.—

(Signed) H. B. Duke of BASSANO.—A true copy. (Signed) The Count de Sussy."

[Here follows the Tarif annexed to the Decree of the 5th of August.]

FRANKFORT.—Decree by the Grand Duke Charles.—Oct. 11, 1810.

We Charles, by the Grace of God, inasmuch as his Majesty the Emperor and King has invited us to introduce into our States the new Tarif of Duties which were decreed in France on the 5th of August last, respecting colonial produce, we the more willingly adopt this measure, as we are convinced that the application of this Tarif to all the States of the Rhenish Confederation will prove the most effectual means of promoting the consumption of those continental articles which shall displace colonial produce, and at the same time diminish the consumption of that produce, by means of which the Continent is rendered tributary to England. Accordingly we have with the consent and advice of our Council of Finances decreed, and do decree as follows:—1. That the Decree given by the Emperor at Trianon, 5th of August, 1810, containing the Tarif of Import Duties upon different kinds of produce and goods, shall, from the 9th of October of the present year, be of force through the whole circle of our States for all kinds of colonial produce there used and consumed.—2. This tarif respects only the trade of Germany, and makes no alteration whatever in the Decrees of Berlin and Milan, which remain in force, nor with the decisions of the Emperor, according to which it is unalterably fixed, that the sugars, coffee, and cotton accumulated in the warehouses of England shall never be admitted into France.—3. Our Minister of Finances is commissioned with the execution of the present Decree, which shall be inserted in the Code of Laws, together with the manner and method in and by which the new tarif shall be collected in our States.

SAXONY.—Decree of the King, relating to Colonial Produce, Oct. 4, 1810.

Whereas, by the accession of his Majesty to the system contained in the Imperial French Decrees, with regard to the

trade with England and her colonies, all direct or indirect commercial relations with England or her colonies, except in so far as the same may take place in virtue of a special permission from the French Government for certain ports, are to be considered as unlawful and continue to be prohibited; and that, consequently, where such relations are still maintained, the confiscation of the merchandize proceeding therefrom must necessarily result—his Majesty thinks it proper to establish and decree the following provisions with regard to such English and colonial merchandize of any description as may come into the course of trade, more particularly by the confiscations that may take place, or by prizes made at sea:—Art. 1. The under-mentioned commodities, when imported for home consumption only, shall be subject to the duties respectively affixed thereto, exclusively of the duties already payable thereon:—Cotton wool, from the Brazils, Cayenne, Surinam, Demarara, and Georgia, per quintal 100 dollars, Levant do. 25. All other description of cotton wool, Neapolitan excepted, which remains exempt from this impost, 75 dol. raw sugar 37 dol. 12 grosh; refined sugar 50 dol.; Hyson tea 112 dol. 12 grosh; green do. 75 dol.; all other kinds of tea 18 dol. 11 grosh; coffee 50 dol.; indigo 112 dol.; cocoa 125 dol.; cochennille 270 dol.; white pepper 75; black pepper 50 dol.; common cinnamon 175 dol.; fine cinnamon 250 dol.; cloves 75 dol.; nutmegs 250 dol.; mahogany 6 dol. 6 grosh; Perambucco wood 15 dol.; Campeachy wood 10 dol.; dye woods ground 12 dol. 12 grosh.—Art. 2. This impost is to be in force from the 8th of October of the present year until further orders, and to be paid by the waggoner or boat master, upon passing the frontier, when the said goods enter this country, or in case of their being unable to defray the same, they shall give due security for the payment of the impost by the receiver of the goods.—Art. 3. As it is not intended that any commodity upon which a similar duty shall have been already levied on the continent should again be subject thereto in his Majesty's territories; in cases of this nature such goods shall be exempt from the aforesaid impost, if accompanied by regular and lawful certificates of such impost having been levied at any Imperial French Custom-house, or in any State where such impost is in force, and of the same not having been paid back



upon exportation from such State.—  
 Art. 4. Upon the importation of any of the above-mentioned commodities into this country, the Collector of the Customs on the frontier shall affix thereto a particular ticket, on which shall be marked the amount of the impost paid, or for the payment of which security may have been given. This ticket is to be examined upon the inspection of the goods at the other Custom-houses in succession, and upon their arrival at the place where they are to be unloaded for sale, care is to be taken to ascertain whether the duty has been correctly charged, and the same is to be levied, if not already defrayed on the frontier; and where it has been already levied in another country, the certificates and documents relative thereto are to be examined, and if found correct, are to be certified accordingly.—Art. 5. The same regulation applies to commodities in transit for an ulterior destination, in case of their being unloaded at any place in the interior, but the impost levied thereon shall be repaid by the Custom-house, or if security only has been given, the same shall be cancelled.—Art. 6. Transit commodities on the other hand, which are not to be unloaded in the country, require only to be correctly declared at the place where they pass the frontier on entering; upon which, proper security being given and the other duties paid, they shall proceed, without being subject to this impost, to the place where they pass beyond the frontier.—Art. 7. In case of the abovementioned commodities being clandestinely introduced, without payment of the impost, or being unloaded in any village by the way, and being there or elsewhere privately deposited, or in case of a particular article being introduced under another name:—upon the detection of one or other of these frauds, such commodities shall be confiscated.

PORTUGAL.—*Order of the Day, issued at Coimbra, Sept. 30, 1810.*

The Commander in Chief thanks the Generals, the other officers, and soldiers of the army, for their good conduct during the whole period in which they occupied the position of Bozaco, and in the action which took place with the enemy on the 27th. He was himself a witness of many proofs of intrepidity in the officers and troops, and the general officers have communicated to him others, with respect

to which he would not fail of giving his opinion to his Majesty, and the Government of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal.—Every friend to his country, and the liberty of the world, and the whole British army, must have observed, with the greatest pleasure, the valour and firmness of the Portuguese troops during those days, who, equally with their comrades in arms in the service of his Majesty, merited and obtained the approbation of Marshal Beresford and the Commander in Chief.—Though the designs which the enemy manifested by his movements determined the Commander in Chief to withdraw the army from their position, which the enemy was incapable of forcing, he hopes, however, that the unquestionable discipline and valour of the officers and soldiers will keep him in a condition to frustrate all the designs of the enemy, and to save this country (where the British army has been so well treated) from the humiliating yoke with which the enemy threatens it.

Adj. Gen. MOZINHO.

PORTUGAL.—*Order of the Day, issued at Leyria, 3rd Oct. 1810.*

His Excellency the Marshal, commanding in Chief, has great satisfaction in publishing to the army the subjoined order of the day issued by his Excellency Marshal General Lord Viscount Wellington, and of thus having occasion to make public so decisive a proof of their brilliant conduct in the battle of the 27th of last month, as that which the testimony of such a General as Lord Viscount Wellington affords.

PORTUGAL.—*Proclamation, issued at Lisbon, 8th Oct. 1810, by Lucas de Scabra da Silva, Gentleman of the Royal Household, Commander of the Order of Christ, &c.*

The duties of humanity requiring that all possible assistance should be afforded to those who, abandoning their homes, have sought an asylum in the capital, against the tyranny and oppression of the enemies of this kingdom; and it being incompatible with the duties of the Police to allow these unhappy fugitives to perish, exposed to the calamity of a rainy season, I order as follows:—1. No proprietors of houses that are at present unoccupied, shall refuse them to the inhabitants of the provinces that are repairing to this capital



from the causes above-mentioned. — 2. The hire of such houses shall be regulated by the rate of the last rent, without the least increase; and in every case where the master or landlord has received a greater remuneration, he shall restore the same within 24 hours from the date of this notice.—3. Every proprietor who shall, to avoid this restriction, decline putting up bills to let out his property, shall lose all right of exacting any hire: such houses shall be given gratis to poor families till next Christmas, and he shall pay a fine corresponding to the rent, for the benefit of such poor families.—4. The Ministers of Justice of the several Wards shall proceed summarily in taking cognizance of the said excesses, notwithstanding any privileges to the contrary, as all other causes must give way to cases of such urgency.—5. The aforesaid Ministers of Justice shall also take care to lodge in unoccupied houses poor families, and not to leave them without a shelter, conforming themselves in this respect to the Chief Judge, Counsellor Bernardo Xavier Barbosa Sachetti, authorised for that purpose by his Royal Highness.—6. All delegations and executions that are made out for this purpose shall be done gratis, except such as are intended to enforce payment of the fines imposed on Proprietors included in the 3rd Article. And every Officer of Justice who shall be guilty of any thing to the contrary, shall be punished with three months imprisonment. — In order that this information may be in the possession of all concerned, I have ordered this Proclamation to be posted up. By his Royal Highness our Lord the Prince Regent.

PORTUGAL.—*Proclamation, issued at Lisbon, 10th Oct. 1810.*

Lucas de Seabra da Silva, Member of the Council of our Lord Prince Regent, one of the Gentlemen of His Royal Household, Commander of the Order of Christ, one of the Royal Judges, Chancellor of the Court and Hall of Supplication, Intendant General of Police of the Court and Kingdom, &c.—I hereby make it known, that it having been represented to his Royal Highness, that a great number of persons, who had left their habitations in order to withdraw themselves from the barbarity of the enemy, were wishing to pass to the left side of the Tagus, that they might more easily obtain the means of subsis-

tence, his Highness has ordered the said persons to be permitted to pass freely, without experiencing any interruption. They are, however, to avail themselves of this indulgence in such a manner as not to endanger the public peace; and in order that no extortion may be committed on the passengers, by excessive charges for their passage, and that no unnecessary difficulties may be placed in their way, he has ordered the following regulations—1. All the persons who are to pass to the left bank of the Tagus, must present themselves, within twenty-four hours, before the Magistrates of the different districts where they are to reside, declaring their names, occupations, designations, the number of individuals belonging to their respective families, and the day on which they left their respective districts. This declaration is to be taken gratuitously, and to be transmitted without the least delay to the Intendant General of Police.—2. No housekeeper shall refuse to those families whatever accommodations they have to let; observing in this respect what has been ordered by the proclamation, which, by order of his Royal Highness, I directed to be published on the 8th current.—3. The freight for passage shall not exceed the rates which have been hitherto fixed in the several ports south of the Tagus, by the statutes of the several places, and when the contrary takes place, the pecuniary mulcts shall be imposed on them, as directed in the said regulations or statutes.—4. And whereas the masters of passage boats, the better to secure the excessive prices which they are accustomed to expect, exact the payment before hand; they are hereby prohibited from receiving any compensation till they shall have reached the opposite ports to which they are destined, under pain of a month's imprisonment; and they shall incur the same punishment when, for the same reason, they maltreat any passenger, if not incurring thereby a more severe criminal proceeding.—5. The officers of justice, of both sides of the Tagus, and the patrols of police, who watch the quays of this capital, shall take care that the provisions of this edict be carried into effect.—6. The petty and ordinary Judges of the districts of the south of the Tagus, shall provide with their chambers the necessary regulations, that the necessaries of life may not be sold at an extravagant price, under pretext of this emigration, thus depriving families of subsistence, who have found it



necessary to seek an asylum against the oppression and tyranny of the enemy; and that no person concerned may alledge ignorance, this Edict shall be made public, and stuck up in the capital, and in the several districts of the right bank of the Tagus.

HOLLAND.—*General Ordinance for the Organization of the Departments of Holland*—*Dated Palace of Fontainebleau, 18th Oct. 1810.*

WE, Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, &c. Considering that the Departments of Holland have a system of taxation quite different from that of the Empire; that it cannot be changed in order to introduce the French system in 1811, but by making our finances sustain a considerable loss: Considering, also, that the persons employed in the administration of the finances of Holland stand in need of their employments in order to support their families, and that they have given us good proofs of their zeal and of their probity; that it would be necessary, however, to displace the greater part of them if a new system of account were introduced before they had time to learn it; that there are in the Departments of Holland arrears for years back, as well as for the present; that the book of the public debt is not yet formed, and cannot be formed before the year 1812; having, therefore, resolved to establish progressively the system of finance of our Empire in the departments of Holland, and to content ourselves, for 1811, with introducing such mitigations, that these Departments will have to pay much less heavy taxes than they have paid in preceding years: Have ordained and do ordain, decreed and do decree, the following organization for the year 1811.—[*We shall here give the principal arrangements of this ordinance.*—The first article establishes the General Government in the following words:—The General Government of the Department of Holland is organized in the following manner:—1st, A Governor-general, Grand Dignitary of the Empire; 2d, A Counsellor of State, Intendant-general of Finances and of the Interior; 3d, A Master of Requests to take charge of the Dykes, Canals, and Roads; 4th, A Master of Requests, Director of the Central Treasury; 5th, a Master of Requests, Principal Director of the Customs; 6th, A Director of the Public Debt; 7th, A

Director of Police.—There shall be a Secretary for the orders of the Governor-general, and a Keeper of the Archives. The General Government shall have its seat at Amsterdam. The Governor-general shall have the same prerogatives as those which were laid down in our Decree of the 24th of February, 1808, for the General Government of the Departments beyond the Alps. The Generals commanding the two military divisions of Holland cannot make any movement of troops but in consequence of his orders. In cases where they shall have received direct orders, on this point, from our Minister at War, they shall take care to acquaint the Governor therewith before the troops are put in motion. Nevertheless, when we think proper to form our troops of the departments of Holland into an army-corps (*corps d'armée*), he shall continue to enjoy the military honours at Amsterdam, but shall cease to interfere in that which concerns the movements of the troops. The nominations to employments under Government, and in the administration of the finances, which are not such as are appointed by us, shall be submitted to him by the Intendant-general. He shall have a general inspection with regard to every thing relating to public establishments and works, and a particular inspection of the operations relative to the formation of the book of the public debt, the liquidation of the arrears of ministerial services, and over the Syndicate of Holland created by our decree of the 23d of September last. He shall render to us, at least once a month, a direct account of the progress of the different services, and of the conduct of the different bodies of the departments and cities. The Counsellor of State, Intendant General of Finance and of the Interior, shall exercise the functions assigned to the Intendant General of Finance in the departments beyond the Alps, by our decree of the 31st July, 1806. As Intendant of Finance, he shall be charged with all that relates to the organization of the public contributions, to their apportionment, levying, and recovery. He shall take his orders from our Minister of Finance. As Intendant of the Interior, he shall be charged with what relates to the mode of accounting, and the budgets of cities; he shall exercise the immediate superintendence of prisons, depots of mendicity, charitable and other public establishments, of every kind. The Master of Requests,



charged with the care of the canals and dykes, shall exercise all the functions assigned to the Director of the Waterstraedt. He shall correspond with our Minister of the Interior, through the medium of our Director General of the Bridges and Causeways. He shall form part of our Corps of Bridges and Causeways. He shall reside at Amsterdam, and shall make frequent tours in the departments. When he happens to be at Paris, he shall take his seat in the Council of Bridges and Causeways. The Master of Requests, Director of the Central Chest, shall correspond with our Minister of the Treasury, and shall do nothing but by his orders. The Director of the Public Debt shall exercise the same functions as the old Director of the Public Debt in Holland. He shall correspond with our Minister of Finance, and shall do nothing but by his orders. The Director of Police shall exercise the same functions as those assigned to the Director of Police in the departments beyond the Alps, &c. by our Decree of the 24th February, 1808. The Secretary of Orders shall exercise the functions prescribed in the 12th and 15th articles of our decree of the 24th February, 1808, relative to the organization of the departments beyond the Alps. The Keeper of the Archives shall exercise the functions prescribed in our decree of the 20th May, 1805.—By the 2d title, the Palace of Amsterdam is declared an Imperial Palace.—By the 3d title, the Dutch language may be employed conjointly with the French, in the tribunals, in the acts of administration, in those of notaries, and in private deeds.—By the 4th title, the territory of Holland is divided into seven departments, namely, the department of the Zuyderzee, of the mouths of the Meuse, of the Upper Issel, of the mouths of the Issel, of Friseland, of the Western Ems, and of the Eastern Ems.—The 5th title relates to the administrative organization.—The 5th chapter of this title, intituled Of Commerce, is as follows: There shall be established Chambers of Commerce at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Embden, and in other cities where that establishment shall be demanded, and authorised by us on the report of our Minister of the Interior. Eight Deputies shall be summoned to the Council of Commerce instituted by our decree of the 27th June, 1810. The masters of the ports of com-

merce who exercise the functions pointed out in our decrees, under the title of Captains of the Port, shall be nominated upon the report of our Minister of Marine, and shall be under his orders.—The 6th title regulates the judicial organization.—The 6th chapter of the same title relates to the tribunals of commerce.—There shall be a tribunal of commerce in each of the cities of Amsterdam, Utrecht, Haarlem, the Hague, Rotterdam, Dort, Arnheim, Zwoll, Leewarden, Groningen, and Embden. These tribunals shall be composed as follows:—That of Amsterdam, of a President, eight Judges, and sixteen Assessors; that of Rotterdam, of a President, six Judges, and four Assessors. In those districts where there shall be two or more tribunals of commerce, the boundaries of their jurisdiction shall be specially pointed out by us. The salaries of the Registrars of the said tribunals of commerce shall be fixed according to the bases and in the proportions established by the laws and statutes of the Empire, with the augmentation of an additional fifth.—By title vii. chap. 1. the debt of Holland is preserved in its integrity; but only a third of the interest shall be paid as is ordained in the 8th article of the decree of the 9th July, 1810. A Commission, composed of the Director of the Debt and of three Administrators, shall be charged with the formation of the *Great Book*. Its labours shall be directed so as to terminate before the 1st January, 1813.—The arrears of the public debt up to June 30, 1809, shall be charged on the funds provided in the budget of 1810. The interest from the 1st of January, 1809, to the 22d September, 1810, shall be paid conformably to what is prescribed in the decree of the 23d September last. The interest, counting from the 22d September, 1810, shall be paid on the 22d March, 1811; and so in future half yearly, conformably to the mode practised with regard to the public debt of France. His Majesty reserves to himself, when the book of the debt of Holland shall be formed, the ordaining in what manner the book of the debt of Holland shall be blended with the great book of the public debt of France.—The master of Requests, Director of the central chest at Amsterdam, shall make payment of the interest of the debt for the years 1811 and 1812.

(*To be continued.*)